1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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632 and intelligent man (see Fig. 79), informed me this was the constitu-
622 tion long before the Europeans came. 'A *Kambon-nab*', he said, 'is
624 succeeded by any one who asks for the post, but if there are many applicants, the wishes of the people of the *teya* were taken into consideration.'

651 *Tribute*: The head Chief stated that he received yearly tribute of
622 corn, ground-nuts, and beans, and that friends for whom he settled cases would 'thank him with a sheep'. He also received presents from the *teya* heads, whose appointment lay with him.

651 'When a beast is killed in hunting, the whole beast is given to the
622 section-head of the hunter who killed it. He, in turn, sends a hind leg
224 to the *Kambon-naba*, who sends it to the Chief, who shares it with the *Kambonnannam*.'

624 *Work of Section-heads: Ten'dan': The Territorial Ruler*: 'The section-
622 heads settled adultery cases. If blood were shed on the land or any one
793 was killed, or if rain did not fall, a cow or sheep or goat was given by the Chief to the *Ten'dan*' to sacrifice and purify the land. Now-a-days most Chiefs do not do so. Before you Europeans came, we Chiefs recognized the *Ten'dan*'. The reason others do not do so now is, that since Europeans came, many new Chiefs have been made, who know nothing about Chieftainship and only want to look after their own bellies. I myself have continued the old things. After the sowing we collect things and give to him (the *Ten'dan*') to sacrifice. I have not, like most Chiefs, taken away the *dawa dawa* trees from the *Ten'dan*'; when I am in need of some, I buy what I require. Formerly Chiefs ate out of calabashes, now they try to eat out of a basket.'

624 Heads of sections, of whom there are four at Nangoot (in charge of the sections known as *Zoa'bis*, *Beam-bis*, *Isaka bis*, and *Kpea-bis*),[1] report to the *Kambon-naba*, who in turn report to the Chief.

622 The Chief of Nangode, with whom I was very much impressed, informed me that he had continued the old system of Native Administration, although 'few other Chiefs now do so, which causes the spirits in the groves to lament'.

793 *The Ten'dan'*: The following was told me by the *Ten'dan*' of Nangode (see Fig. 80): 'My ancestor owned the land. I was head *Ten'dan*'
[421] (*Ten'dan' kpwem*). The Europeans have given power to the Chiefs, who now own the land. My ancestors owned *dawa dawa* trees, and
[783] lost beasts, and when men shot arrows and killed any one, a cow was ...en to purify the land. When some one wanted to build a new house,

[1] *Bis*—children, i.e. descendants.

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

The princi... however, concern the tribute due to the owner of the pool. Morally his rights a... ond question and are never denied. But except for members of the owner's immediate family, who will eventually receive a share of the tribute, a moral obligation of this sort counts for nothing in practice without effective sanctions. Hence the owner sees to it that members of his family are dispersed amongst the crowd in the water. These young men keep a sharp watch and do not hesitate to take by force the fish which they regard as their rightful tribute. The owner himself often enters the pool to assist in the police work. Those who contest the confiscation of their fish do so in vain. Not only will public opinion not support them, but the owner's "policemen" would not hesitate to give them a drubbing. A maternal kinsman, sister's son, or in-law relation of the owner is, however, allowed to keep his first fish, unless his catch is large, in virtue of kinship. This is a concession which the owner might also make to his personal friends, and not a right.

One obligation, by contrast, is never evaded. Young crocodiles are sometimes caught, and the owner of the fetish is entitled to the hind legs and tail of every crocodile caught. This is the perquisite of his *bayar* one part of which, the hoe shaft, will be covered with the skin of a crocodile tail thus delivered to him. Not only is it very difficult to conceal the capture of a crocodile, but the supernatural penalties of evasion—certain injury from a crocodile in a future fishing expedition being the least of them—dare not be risked.

Fishing continues thus from about 1.30 p.m. to 4 p.m., or in a well stocked pool, to 5 p.m. The exodus commences sporadically. People who had earlier in the day been cutting hoe shafts or rafters, collecting firewood, or medicinal herbs, come out first to complete these tasks. Finally, when only a few remain in the pool, the owner of the fetish goes down to pull up his *bayar*. As he does this, he shouts to those remaining to come out. The removal of the axe shaft is the signal that the fishing is over.

The catch in such expeditions varies greatly. The tribute received by the owner of the pool may be taken as a rough index of the catch. In the three expeditions in which I participated the owner's tribute varied from six to fifteen medium and large fish. The last pool was exceptionally prolific and was fished on two successive days. I estimated the number of men—men only fished on the first day—at about four hundred; on this occasion the catch was declared to be enormous, surpassing all expectations. Few people left empty handed. But on the other hand, nobody had more than four medium or large fish, which would be taken home and divided up within each man's immediate family. The best proof of the paucity of the catch relative to the population fishing and of the valuation of fish as a delicacy rather than as an addition to the food supply was that throughout the fishing month fish caught on these expeditions never appeared for sale at the market.

Clearly too, communal fishing does not benefit the owner of the pool much materially. However large his tribute, the net gain to himself is small since he distributes much of it to others—men of rank and elders who attend the fishing as an expression of clan loyalty

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

226 and to give moral support to a man of their own rank, members of his own family, and
●65 the *bayardaana*, who, in addition to the sacrificial animals he receives from the owner, is entitled to a present of fish.

226 Why then do owners of pools call out communal fishing expeditions? They themselves say "because our ancestors did so." A more adequate explanation suggests itself from an examination of the fishing situation in relation to the technique of fishing and to the conditions of ownership of pools. Fishing with hook and line is practised by a few people throughout the year, but the technique is rudimentary, suitable for the capture of an occasional fish and not for the provision of a regular supply. The net technique, on the other hand, cannot be satisfactorily employed by individuals. It is essentially a communal technique. There is thus a practical necessity for communal fishing.

226 Principally, however, fishing is correlated with the ownership of pools. With few
423 exceptions appointment to a chieftainship by the Paramount Chief of the Division
554 constitutes the title to the ownership of a particular pool. Of the exceptions, I have record of one authentic case of a pool owned by a single lineage and transmitted according to the laws of inheritance. Tradition said that it had been purchased by the ancestor
[622] of this lineage from a chief in a time of severe famine. To organize a communal fishing expedition is thus a prerogative of chieftainship[1]. It maintains the prestige and proclaims the status of a chief beyond the confines of his own limited territory. Striking proof of this occurred when the Chief of Yinduri announced an expedition to his pool. When the people arrived there, the pool was found to be so choked with weeds that fishing was impossible. Someone from another settlement suggested fishing a neighbouring pool, belonging to another chief, instead. The people of Yinduri were so incensed by this affront to the dignity of their chief that they attacked and beat the offender. Besides,
[685] such an act of communal poaching would have exposed them to the penalty of a heavy fine.

226 Chiefs, consequently, desire large attendances drawn from a wide radius at fishing
621 expeditions. Actually, however, the territorial range of the attendance at any expedition is limited by the factor of contiguity—the further a settlement is from that of the owner of the pool, the smaller will be the contingent coming from it; while the social constitution of the attendance is conditioned by the principles of kinship. Thus, a man will always accompany an expedition arranged by his mother's brother or other kinsman, even if he is from a distant settlement, since he would probably be permitted to keep his catch, and would be less drawn to expeditions under the auspices of non-kinsmen. Similarly, the *Namoos* clans turn out in far greater numbers to expeditions arranged by *Namoos* chiefs than to those of the *Tallis* chiefs. Another factor influencing the social constitution of fishing expeditions is that people tend to go in family parties.

[554] [1] A commoner who owns a river, as in the case cited above, naturally follows the general practise and on the occasion of the fishing expedition enjoys a prestige equivalent to that of a chief.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

conquered many of the small tribes in North Mamprusi and superimposed their rule upon the indigenous clan system. Thus many of the Chiefs in the district to-day are of Mamprusi descent and pay tribute to the Nayiri, the paramount Mamprusi Chief at Nalerigu, near Gambaga. There is little tribal cohesion amongst the family sections, or clans, and it is upon their federation into a political unit, the Mamprusi State, that political officers have been engaged recently, following Government's policy of Indirect Rule through native Administration. The clans in Zuarungu and Kusasi now come into the Mamprusi Native Administration; those of Navrongo have formed Administrations of their own. Direct taxation was introduced in 1936 and marked an important step forward. A large proportion of the money collected is to be spent upon social services in the areas of collection, and agriculture is not being neglected.

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Recent Slave Raids.

In addition to conquest from the South, the district was continually invaded by mounted slave-raiders from the North. There is no doubt that the unsettled conditions produced by these raids have had a profound effect upon the economic and social life of the people. The importance of this from our point of view is that now, with settled conditions, the people may be expected to adjust themselves, in time, to the new order of things, and to be prepared to modify their system of farming where necessary. It is probable that these invasions, together with tse-tse fly in heavy bush, tended to concentrate the population around the rocky hills characteristic of the district, where the horsemen would be at a disadvantage. The attention of the people appears to have been concentrated more upon weapons—bows and arrows, or spears, still used to-day for ceremony and hunting—than upon agricultural implements. It is also a significant fact that the indigenous system of agriculture requires no operation to be performed on the farm during the dry season, which is the season of the year when invasion would take place. The burning of the grass in the dry season may have been done to reduce the chance of surprise attack.

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Agriculture a Custom, not a Business.

As might be expected from tribes consisting of small units having continually to defend themselves and losing many of their strongest men in fighting or taken as slaves, the people in North Mamprusi remained, economically, very primitive. Although the system of agriculture is "fixed", which is generally regarded as an advance upon "shifting cultivation", it leaves much to be desired. Farming methods have not been adjusted sufficiently quickly to

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